c: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NVS Tzeltal NVS

utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[27] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[28] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chuhkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*); women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*tzitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[29] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[30]

Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[27] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[28] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[29] Starr, 1908, p. 73.

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, II 359.

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 821 823 natural elements (hail, wind, storms), which often threaten and destroy the cornfields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their 342 offspring. The habitations include a hut, 343 which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus [417] chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. 343 Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom 417 does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[CP 205-B]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[759] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[846] of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

• 417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matz-malté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and

[P. 207-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4.5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *baxtet*, were placed at the level of the eaves across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All these things are indicated in the plan.

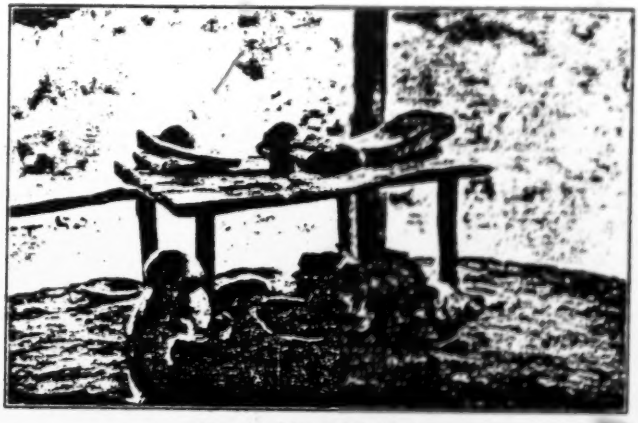

FIG. 290—Table with Metates.

A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, pe[illegible]ed, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ōcom*, with plain

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

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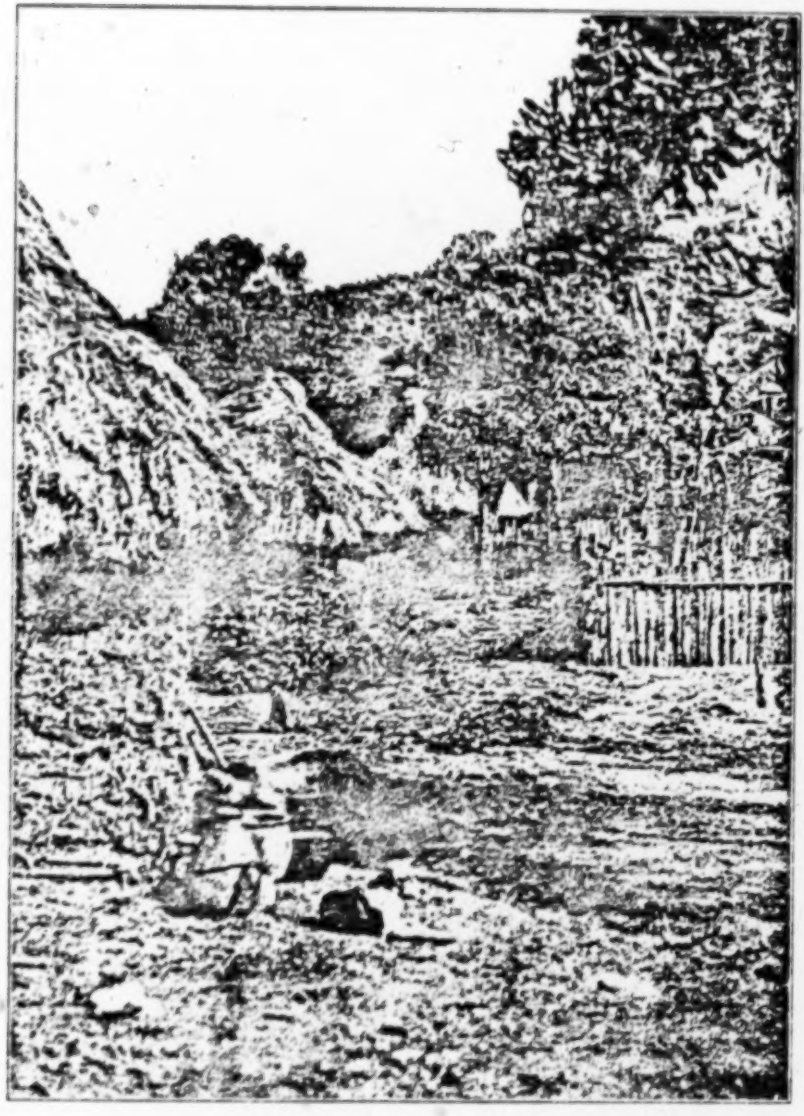

FIG. 311—Tenango, Chis. Street Scene.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast
241 to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa sys-
[35] tem of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields
[417] start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes
361 through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a

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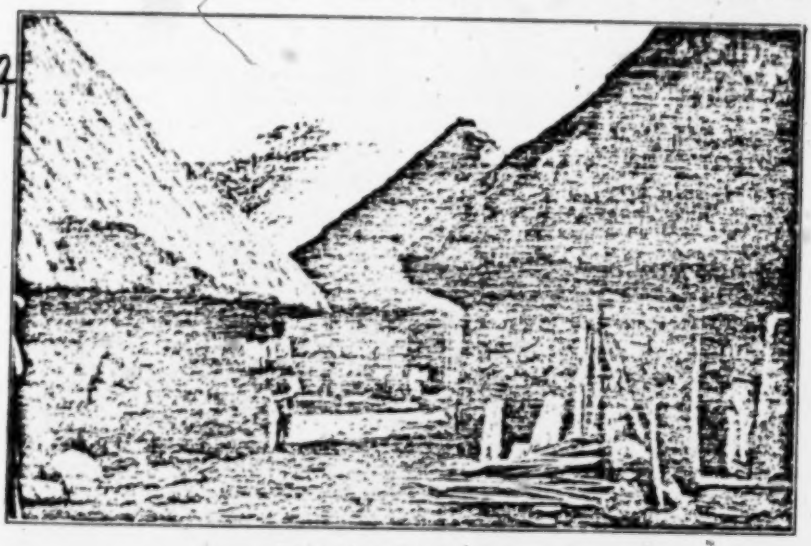

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chis. Houses.

361 whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for
245 the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds,
363 and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.

342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between
[354] the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá."

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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FIG. 319—Tenango, Chia. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means
[419] of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the
824] houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

FIG. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

FIG. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

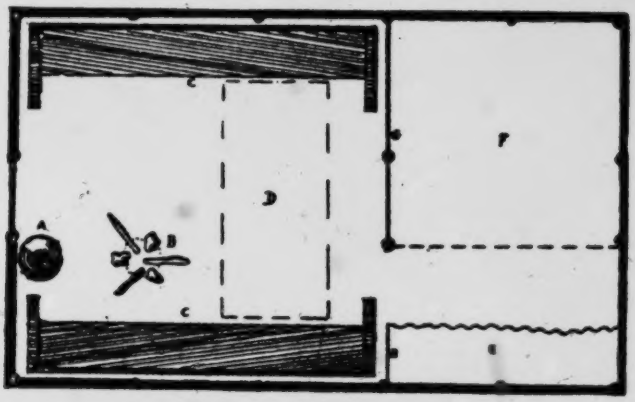

FIG. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

[P.198-C]

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Plate 3. A father and his two sons, walking in order of age, leave the village to go to their milpa. The father, walking in front, is wearing the old-style costume with a wrapped overshirt concealing short undertrousers. His sons wear western clothing. All of the men carry net bags on a tumpline, with their backs protected from their burdens by a sheepskin. They all carry machetes, and the boys have rifles.

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Plate 4. Farmer showing the arada plow. He is holding the handle, and the shaft, made of a long tree post, is propped on the ground.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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Amatenango del Valle

[P.198-D]

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Plate 5. Men assisting the women of their household in the firing of canteros, or water jugs. They have just removed the still-smoldering logs which were propped on the outer perimeter of the pyramid of jugs.

592 593 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men: a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 591 592 602 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 591 476 241 417 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact number of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 241 417 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man

423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 496 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,